

Serbian Press in France during the 20th Century: Among the Cultural Diplomacy and the Information on the Diaspora

*La presse serbe en France au cours du XX^{ème} siècle : entre la diplomatie
culturelle et l'information sur la diaspora*

*СРПСКА ШТАМПА У ФРАНЦУСКОЈ ТОКОМ 20. ВЕКА: ИЗМЕЂУ КУЛТУРНЕ
ДИПЛОМАТИЈЕ И ИНФОРМАЦИЈА О ДИЈАСПОРИ*

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*La presse serbe en France au cours du XX^{ème} siècle : entre
la diplomatie culturelle et l'information sur la diaspora*

*Српска штампа у Француској током 20. века: Између
културне дипломатије и информација о дијаспори*

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Introduction

History of the press,¹ as yet under-explored field, opens new issues such as circulation of men and ideas, the cultural transfers that they facilitated, as well as the hybrid identities they fostered. Since the late 19th century and the Dreyfus affair, newspapers, through means of large circulations, were transferring information to the masses and quickly became a prominent force that had significant impact in the society.² Already from the Franco-Russian alliance (1894) Serbia's cooperation with France in political, economic and cultural appearance had great importance in the preservation of independence, as well as, for the further development and realization of the Yugoslav idea. Serbian diplomats in Paris and Serbian intellectuals educated in France started cooperation with French intellectuals in period before

1. This paper is a part of the project activities of the Institute for Political Studies, supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

2. VITANOVIĆ & VITANOVIĆ, 1996, p. 139; ALBER, 1998, pp. 64-66; WINOCK, 1999, pp. 117-123; BJELICA, JEVTIĆ, 2006, pp. 81-82, 93-97; BRIGGS, BERK, 2006, p. 266.

the Great War.³ In early 20th century Paris was a center of information, prominent newspapers and journals, as well as the place of diplomatic actions. After the Second World War, the new geopolitical circumstances, as well as existence and abundance of the Serbian diaspora in France, influenced on the Serbian press in France to take on new features. This paper try to inquire into the Serbian press, published in France or in the French language, and to answer how it shaped the French-Serbian (Yugoslav) relations. The aim is to explore whether the press in the Serbian language was the paving stone from the cultural diplomacy to the information on the Serbian diaspora during the 20th century.

La Patrie serbe

The strength of the word of journalists and public statements of scholars and other intellectuals, accelerated by its dissemination by the press in the second decade of the 20th century, gained power to influence the public opinion, as well as, the creation of state policy. French capital became an important place for Serbian propaganda, especially in the first years of 20th century and during the Great War.⁴ In order to emphasize the Serbian issue to the European public, Serbian intellectuals—professors, academics, diplomats, politicians and journalists Jovan Žujović, Milenko Vasnić, Jovan M. Jovanović, Grgur Jakšić built profound ties with the group of French intellectuals—diplomats, professors of the Sorbonne and journalists Albert Malet, Ernest Denis, Victor Bérard, Auguste Gauvain, Émile Haumant, Charles Loiseau, Henry Barby and Pierre Lanaux.⁵ The result of their common work were articles (Émile Haumant, *Le pays Dinarique et les types Serbes d'après Mr Jovan Cvijić* etc.), books (Victor Bérard, *La Serbie*; Ernest Denis, *La Grande Serbie*; Grgur Jakšić, *Le Banat* etc.), public speeches, organization of *the Serbian day* in French schools and preparation of humanitarian aid to Serbs in 1915 and 1916. Also, they were trying to launch the Serbian newspapers in French as form of cultural diplomacy of a small Balkan country. In early

3. KOLAKOVIĆ, 2016.

4. KOLAKOVIĆ, 2017, pp. 330-352.

5. ANF, AJ/16/6074 (Dossier Mallet); ANF, F/17/2987a (A. Mallet – *Mission en Macédoine études ethnographiques*, 1902); F/17/26707 (Dossier Bérard); AJ/16/113, AJ/16/6019 (Dossier Haumant); F/17/25832 (Dossier Leger); Narodna biblioteka Srbije [National library of Serbia], Hartije Grgura Jakšića, P558/IX/1619, G. Jakšić – N. Pašić (letter); EISENMANN, 1902, pp. 5-8; ŽUJOVIĆ, 1920, pp. 206-209; SPASIĆ, 1990, p. 234; JOVANOVIĆ, 2001, pp. 344-345; VOJVODIĆ, 2007, p. 409; VESNIĆ, 2008; RADOJEVIĆ, *Srpska enciklopedija*, p. 306; KOLAKOVIĆ, 2015, pp. 133-144.

September 1915, Grgur Jaksić and Milan Grol with a group of the intellectuals were working on the launching of the journal in the French language.⁶ But the efforts of Serbian intellectuals were unsuccessful. In 1916, Serbian intellectuals in Paris published *La Patrie Serbe* (*Serbian Homeland*) under the editorship of the Dragomir Ikonić, Doctor of Philosophy. Publishing of the magazine was supported by Ljubomir Davidović, Serbian Minister of Education and Jovan Žujović, the president of the Serbian Royal Academy and a former minister, as well as other Serbian intellectuals among whom were: Aleksandar Arnautović, Milan Grol, Kosta Kumanudi, Grgur Jaksić, Mihailo Ibrovac, Bogdan and Pavle Popović, Jasa Prodanović, Jovan Radonić.⁷

Collaborators of *La Patrie Serbe* were prominent Serbian intellectuals, mostly French students with branched connection in French society, as well as distinguished French intellectuals Ernest Denis and Émile Haumant. Intended for the Serbian youth who fled from Serbia and continued their education in France and who were expected to revive the devastated country after the war (it estimated that there were about 5000 students from Serbia in France) the journal had a specific mission. *La Patrie Serbe* published translations of Serbian folk and patriotic lyric poems, articles about prominent Serbs and information from the everyday life of Serbs in France, as well as texts of Serbian and French intellectuals in French language. The journal was intended also for French people who wanted to learn more about Serbs. *La Patrie Serbe* was effort towards preserving identity and maintaining ties with the homeland, which were accompanied with the promotion of Serbian goals and presentation of ideas related to further steps in solving the national issue through articles that express gratitude to France and French people.

La Patrie Serbe became a way of presenting the country and people through mechanisms that would be recognized as elements of cultural diplomacy. *La Patrie Serbe*—Serbian journal in French—was the path of promotion of the Serbian national targets and the ideas related to further action in resolving national issues (actualization and realization of the Yugoslav idea).⁸ Analyzing the mission of *La Patrie Serbe* and cooperation of French and Serbian intellectuals during the Great War (research studies on causes and consequences of the war, humanitarian aid to Serbs and the affirmation Serbian issues in the European public opinion) reproduced the influence of intellectuals on the Franco-Serbian relations shaping.

6. JOVANOVIĆ PIŽON, 2015, p. 129.

7. *La Patrie Serbe*, t. I, du 20 octobre à fin décembre 1917.

8. KOLAKOVIĆ, 2016, pp. 408-421.

Serbian (Yugoslav) Press in France in the interwar period

The French influence (political, economic and cultural) in Yugoslavia between the two world wars was inviolable due to the great part of the Yugoslav intellectuals, who were educated in Paris and other university centers in France. Cooperation between the Serbian and the French intellectuals existed before the Great War, but in the interwar period they became especially important. After the Revolution in Russia (1917), for the Yugoslavs and especially the Serbs, France remained the protector. Serbian intellectuals—Aleksandar Arnautović and Miodrag Ibrovac, former students of Bogdan Popović and Jovan Skerić—exerted a particular influence, by disseminating the French culture in Serbian (Yugoslavian) society. In the 1924 Declaration of the *Comité Slave en France*, proclaimed in April 1924 in Paris, France was described as a *patron country* of “the idea of the solidarity of the Slavic peoples”.⁹ At the same time, the Declaration expresses the will to restore good relations between the Slavic peoples. After the Great War and the defeat of Germany, with also the constant danger of German revenge, the Slavs (Czechs, Poles, Russians and Yugoslavs) in the “heart of a great French nation” and “traditional friend” they wanted to contribute to the rapprochement of the Slavic peoples. The Versailles peace conference did not bring the expected stability, France was for the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes a formidable force guaranteeing its security and its survival, as evidenced by the process of creation of the Petite Entente, which has become one of the means of French action on the system in Europe. But, in the complicated order of Versailles system, the tutelary power and its *protégé* did not always understand each other. Therefore, the intellectual relations were an important part of bilateral relations between France and Yugoslavia, as well as a subsidiary means for France to exercise its influence. France retained its prestige as the capital of culture while symbolizing the political power.

During the interwar period, when France had significant political economic and cultural influence in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—the Kingdom of Yugoslavia¹⁰, expressed by the term of *the eternal friendship* between two nations. Also, a significant number of people from the territory of the Serbs Croats and Slovenes immigrated to France in order to find work, education and a better life. The Yugoslav Colony (Jugoslovenska kolonija), the first organization

9. See: *Déclaration du Comité Slave en France 10 avril 1924*, Paris, juin 2018.

10. KRIVOKAPIĆ-JOVIĆ, 1990, pp. 248-256; KRIVOKAPIĆ-JOVIĆ, 2005, pp. 269-277; KRIVOKAPIĆ-JOVIĆ, 2007, pp. 173-184; DIMIĆ, 2005, p. 57-72; SRETENović, 2012, pp. 209-219.

of Yugoslav emigration, was founded in Paris in 1928. The purpose this organization was bringing together all citizens from the Kingdom of the Serbs Croats and Slovenes, who lived in France, for solidarity assistance and to promote the interests of the homeland in France as well as “the friendly relations between France and Yugoslavia”. In Paris and every major city of France, this organization established the meeting rooms or reading rooms, library. Well educated members organized lectures in French and “Yugoslav”, music or sports manifestations, as well as, prepared the special edition of the books. In these circumstances, the Yugoslav students and immigrants launched the journals, also. Although numerous studies on the French-Serbian relations in the interwar period have been written, somehow historical science missed or blurred the issue on the Serbs who remained or came in France after 1919. Therefore, it is very important the existence of the Serbian press in France during the interwar period.

After the Great War one group of Yugoslav citizens who already lived in France launched, in 1930, the journal *Pariske novine* (*Journal Parisien*).¹¹ Establishment of the Journal Parisien had the aim of achieving the unity and better organization of the Yugoslav diaspora in France. Journal emphasized the necessity of creations the first organization of Yugoslavs in France. It alleged the example of Czechs and Poles who already have such organizations. Readers felt confused and they asked on the issue of “political and social direction” of the Yugoslav journal, also.¹² Editors stressed that the main aim is “to disturbed solidarity of citizens living abroad”, and that journal is “for the people of the same blood and language who are living abroad” because for them is “important to understood, to hear their own language, understandable language far away”.¹³ Editors of the *Pariske novine* also tried to do propaganda for “our nation and state [...] Furthermore, it is our civic duty and our personal benefit to do all for that for stronger friendship ties with our ally France”.¹⁴ A group of citizens points out that: “financially and technical difficulties of issuing one journal in our language in Paris are enormous”, but from the first issue acquired praise as well as contestation. Prevalent information were on the homeland, life in France (jobs, licenses, taxes, insurance, everyday life), as well as the informations on Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Paris and other cities of France. This was the first journal dedicated to the Yugoslav Diaspora.

11. The editorial address was 24 rue des Écoles. *Journal Parisien* comes out every Saturday, and the annual subscription fee was 48 frcs. *Pariske novine* (*Journal Parisien*), 1, n° 2, Paris, December 13, 1930.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Pariske novine* (*Journal Parisien*), 1, N° 3, Paris 20. decembar 1930.

14. *Pariske novine* (*Journal Parisien*), 2, N° 1, Paris, January 4, 1931.

The topic of the French-Serbian friendship in this journal evolved from the home and host country information into the panegyric about the French-Yugoslav (the French-Serbian) *eternal* friendship. *Pariske novine* was the binding thread among the Yugoslav Diaspora, as well as the means of the maintaining the strong ties with the homeland.

Serbian (Yugoslav) Press in France after 1945

After the Second World War, opponents of the communist regime immigrated to France, and since the 60th years increased the presence of the labor emigration from the Yugoslavia, too. Since this period, new journals were launched in France in the frame of various associations of the Serbian Diaspora.¹⁵ Commonly, they were bilingual. They brought news of their homeland but also of life in France. It is difficult to estimate what the circulation of these newspapers was and how much they were read. Also, most of the Yugoslav press from this period has not been preserved. Based on a field study conducted by the author of this paper in France in 2018 among members of the Serbian diaspora, there were contradictory testimonies about the importance of these journals. Some of the respondents (over 65 years old) do not remember reading the Yugoslav press. They were labor migrants from the 60th years. Opposed to this, the descendants of the political emigration remembered that the Serbian-language press was an important medium of information about the homeland they were forced to leave.¹⁶

In March 1945 Journal *Nova Jugoslavija* [*Nouvelle Yougoslavie, New Yugoslavia*] started out as a newsletter of the Association of Yugoslavs in France and Yugoslavs from the French resistance movement (Komitet narodnog oslobođenja u Francuskoj).¹⁷ Previous studies indicate that the activities of the association were controlled by the new government in Yugoslavia in cooperation with the French Communist Party. Apart from this journal, Embassy of the new Yugoslavia printed *Bulletin d'information* in French language, too. These publications were

15. Arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Republike Srbije (Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia), 1948, Francuska (France), 50, 359, Annual report; AMAE, Z Europe Yougoslavie, 1944–1949, Z 510–1, Yougoslaves en France; See: EKMEČIĆ, 1981.

16. Field research, France, Serbian Diaspora, 2018, within the framework of the bilateral cooperation PHC project *French-Serbian Relations in Diplomacy and Media Representation: Historical Experience and Contemporary Challenges*, Sorbonne Paris IV and the Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade, 2018/2019.

17. The editorial address was 36 rue Paul-Valéry, 75016, Paris. *Nova Jugoslavija*, Komitet narodnog oslobođenja u Francuskoj, Paris, 1945.

a cohesive means/unifying tissue of the Yugoslav Diaspora in France and mode of presentation and impact in France for the new communist government in Yugoslavia.¹⁸ That was cultural diplomacy of the young communist Yugoslavia in *the mild mist*. But, it revealed that Tito's Yugoslavia operates through the press in two ways. Firstly, the Yugoslav press in France had the role of promoting the country. It was a means of approach and a method of the cultural diplomacy.¹⁹ From the press is expected to help overcome and/or reduction of mistrust and animosity between de Gaulle and Tito.²⁰

Also, the large members of Serbian political emigration lived in France. They were the Serbian royalists and former members of the Draza Mihailović's Chetnik Movement, who had cooperation with the French right-wing parties. Serbian political emigration launched *Srpski glas* [Serbian voice], *Glas srpske zemljoradničke omladine* [Serbian agricultural youth voice], *Glas srpskog naroda* [The voice of the Serbian people], *Seljačka demokratija* [Peasant democracy] i *Slobodna tribina* [The free debate]. We still do not know enough about this cooperation, but based on current research we can see the dual nature of the Serbian press of this period in France. Political emigration fought against the current communist government and sought to bring together members of the diaspora. Some of them were in French language: *La vérité Yougoslave*, *Yougoslavie*, *Sindikalist* and *Bulletin Yougoslave*. Simultaneously, the Croatian political emigration published the journals, too. Serbs also printed *Naša reč* [Our word], *Slobodna tribina* [The free forum], *Zemljoradnik* [Peasant] and *Radikal*, and Croatian journal *Hrvatski radnik* [Croatian worker]. All journals of Yugoslav political emigration were seen by Tito's Yugoslavia as very destructive elements in the Yugoslav diaspora in France.²¹

In 1947 *New Yugoslavia*, as well as the Association of Yugoslavs in France were prohibited due to the cooperation with the French communists, but already in March 1948 a new association of Yugoslavs was formed.²² In May 1948, this cultural association of Yugoslavs began to publish an informative newsletter of Yugoslavs in France. Basically, the new association and the new Journal were created on old foundations of the *New Yugoslavia* and the Association of Yugoslavs

18. SELINIĆ, 2013, pp. 218-239; KOLAKOVIĆ, 2013, pp. 101-122.

19. DRAKE, 2002, pp. 74-75; SUPPAN, 2005, p.192.

20. General de Gaulle considered the fate which Tito reserved for general Mihailovic as unacceptable, and considered moreover that the Yugoslav federation as such is a more than fragile state structure. See: BUISSON, 1999.

21. EKMEČIĆ, 1981, pp. 10-27.

22. *Ibid.*

in France with altered names. After a few numbers, a new journal was completely in the power of Yugoslavs who were close to the Communist Party of France. In the journals number 5 began the attack on Tito and the leadership of the SFRY and the Communist Party.²³ The Cominform clash caused disintegration of the Association of Yugoslav citizens in France and indirectly reflected on the press. In organization of Yugoslav immigrants, and the lunching the journals Rusa Supek, Anka Matić, and later professors of the University of Zagreb and painters Milivoje Uzelac and Marko Čelebonović. It seems that in editorial board of journals were more Croats than Serbs. After this, since 1949 in France, also arrived²⁴ journal *Iz nove Jugoslavije* [*From the new Yugoslavia*], who had a role of serving as a support to “loyal Yugoslav emigrants”. In May of 1949, the Cultural Association of Yugoslavs in France changed its name to the Association of Yugoslav Brotherhood and Unity, and started to publish the journal *Bratstvo i Jedinstvo* [*Brotherhood and Unity*]. In this period, anti-communist climate prevailed in France which also affected on the Yugoslav diaspora and especially journals until the end of the 60’s. After Informbiro’s resolution, when Yugoslavia was “opened” to the West, it seemed that, in addition to the bad relations between the French and Yugoslav communists, cultural diplomacy had the most remarkable results. However, serious problems existed in the Franco-Yugoslav relations (the De Gaulle-Tito relations, the political emigration of Serbs and Croats–Ustashas to France, the war in Algeria, decolonization and the Non-Aligned Movement).

From 1956 to 1964, the decolonization process and French-Yugoslav political relations are shaped and Yugoslav publishing activities in France. At that time there were about 50 thousand Yugoslavs. Current knowledge indicates that Tito’s visit to France in 1956 had no effect on the improvement of relations between France and Yugoslavia. Association the *Brotherhood and unity* took on a more passive operation due to the sensitivity and occasional disagreements between French and Yugoslav politics. Also, it remained without their newsletter. At the same time there was a reversal of the Yugoslav agency for information and its journal *Les Nouvelles Yougoslaves*.²⁵ At the same time, political emigrants wrote about Tito’s interference in French internal affairs and accused the Yugoslav emigrants for communism and collaborationism with liberation movements in the French colonies. Such assessments were asserted by *Hrvatski radnik* [*Croatian worker*] (1956), *Islam* [*Islam, the newspaper*] (1959), *Demokratija i Hrvatska sloboda*

23. *Nouvelle Yougoslavie*, no 5, 1948.

24. It was prepared and printed in Yugoslavia and served as a tool for Tito’s propaganda among the diaspora.

25. EKMEČIĆ, 1981, pp. 32.

[*Democracy and Croatian Freedom*] (1960), *Demokratska Unija Jugoslovena and Jugoslovenski komitet za prijem imigranata* [*Democratic Union of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Committee for the admission of immigrants*] (1962), *Hrvatska* [*La Croatie*] (1963) and *Radikal* [*Radical*]. So these estimates were given by Serbian and Croatian political emigration, as well as by Muslims.

However, since 1964 the Yugoslav policy of abroad employment entered more freedom and democracy. During the period from 1965 to 1973 began an independent private economic initiative of the Yugoslav citizens in France and it is also affected on the Serbian press in France. From 1965 to 1968 Club of the Yugoslav Embassy, which gathered 2,350 members, was publishing *Tribun* [*Tribune*]. This journal was a tool of cultural diplomacy of Yugoslavia until 1968 when the Club was closed after a bomb attack of the anti-Yugoslav political emigration.²⁶ Between 1973 and 1975, the only Serbian-Croatian language in Paris was *MI – mini informator* [*MI - mini newsletter*].²⁷ Yugoslavia tried to organize its cultural diplomacy through the Cultural Center of Yugoslavia in Paris. Famous Yugoslav artists, writers, scientists, painters held lectures, exhibitions and concerts. Cultural Center of Yugoslavia in Paris presented the culture and science all the Yugoslav nations, and also published *Pregled YU: bilten KIC SFRJ* [*YU Review: KIC SFRJ Bulletin*] from 1976 to 1980.²⁸ Official influence from Yugoslavia on the Serbian press in France began to weaken from this period. It appeared newspapers that contained basic information about life and work in France. A good example is *Glas* [*Voice*], journal published by the Federation of Clubs and Societies of Yugoslav Citizens in France.²⁹ Also, new Serbian press in France, in period after Tito's death and dissolution of the Yugoslavia, had character of the cultural cooperation. *Horizonti* [*Horizons*], *Panorama* [*Panorama*] and *Vizija* [*Vision*], founded by individuals and cultural associations, dealt with

26. *Ibid.*

27. It was published monthly, on the Serbian language. The publisher was YougoFrance, Yugoslav bookstore in 12 districts in Paris. The center of gathering of the Yugoslav diaspora and those who were seeking education and working place in France, in this period was the JugoFrance, owned by Fadil Ekmecic, a person very important for the cultural relations between France and Serbia, and above all for the researching the history of Yugoslav diaspora in France.

28. *Pregled YU: bilten KIC SFRJ*, Paris, 1976–1980.

29. *Glas*, Saveza klubova društava i udruženja jugoslovenskih građana u Francuskoj, Paris, 1980–1984.

artistic expression, cultural themes and literature.³⁰ Also, there was one magazine dedicated to the topic of adult education—*Indeks* [*Index*], bulletin of the Adult Education Center *Birotehnika* Paris.³¹

Conclusion

This power of *the public word* had a significant impact during the Great War (1914-1918), but also the power of press reached even a greater impact during the progress of the 20th century. *La Patrie Serbe* published in Paris in 1916, 1917 and 1918, opened the era of the Serbian press in France. Serbian press in France in the period of the Great War was the path of presentation and affirmation of national interest. Readers of *La Patrie Serbe* were Serbs (Serbian students and professors) in exile. By choosing the French language for the official language of the journal, it also communicated with the French speaking people not only in France but also in Switzerland and Belgium, as well as across the Europe. Also, the journal *La Patrie Serbe* was in the spirit of Raymond Poincaré's policy of *L'Union sacrée* and it was used for strengthening the Franco-Serbian relations and building the *idea of eternal friendship* between the French and the Serbs.

In the interim period, the Serbian press in France moved from the Serbian focus on the Yugoslav. For the first time, the journals and magazines were addressing to the French population of Yugoslav origin. Firstly, as we saw on the example of the *Pariske novine* (*Journal Parisien*), the aim was to maintain the Franco-Yugoslav friendship (French-Serbian friendship took the Yugoslav frames). These newspapers published in France, but not in French language, had the primary goal of establishing the relationship between the homeland and diaspora. Simultaneously, the *Pariske novine* helped the organization of the Yugoslav diaspora in the country of the many migrants from all over the world. Until the Second World War, the Serbian press in France had the role of informational resources for the Yugoslav emigrants.

In the period after 1945, the establishment of Yugoslav (and especially Serbian) newspapers and journals was deeply connected with:

- A. Attitude of new communist authorities towards the issue of the Diaspora and problem of labor migration;

30. *Horizonit*, časopis za književnost i kulturu, Paris, 1980-1984; *Panorama*, Bilten Društva za umjetničke aktivnosti, Paris, 1981-1983; *Vizija*, list radnika-pisaca Branko Radičević u Parizu, Paris, 1982-1983.

31. *Indeks*, Bilten Centra za obrazovanje odraslih Birotehnika Paris, 1983-1984.

- B. Political relations between of the new Yugoslavia and France (cooperation between the Communist Parties, the French support to Serbian political emigration, global politics changes in 1948—INFORMBIRO and the Yugoslav improvement of relations with the West, the Cold War era, the collapse of communism)
- C. Migratory policy in France (attitude towards migrants in France);
- D. Division inside the Yugoslav Diaspora (political emigration versus pro-yugoslav immigration; Serbs versus Serbs or Serbs versus Croats etc., as well as, the influence of the Churches—Orthodox versus Catholic.

Therefore, in the second half of the 20th century, the Serbian (Yugoslav) press in France played a multiple role. Tito's Yugoslavia tried to maintain liaison with the Yugoslav Diaspora through the press, as well as to present the new state to the French and international public, especially in the first years after the Second World War. Understanding the importance of the role of texts and figures in the Serbian journals is additionally complicated due to the existence of the Serbian press in French (or in France) issued by political emigration, which is not yet fully available to researchers.

At the end of the 20th century, the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the changes caused by the global use of the Internet influence on character of the foreign press in the Serbian language in France. Serbian newspapers and journals in the French sought to change the dark image of Serbia and Serbs in France. Interesting is the presence of emotional stance of the Serbian diaspora according to the opinion of the official France about the war in the former Yugoslavia—Serbians experienced that attitude as a betrayal of eternal friendship among Serbs and French.³² But, issues of the role of current Serbian Internet portals, Facebook, newspapers and magazines in France, would be a new research topic. Previous research studies shown that the Serbian press in France during the 20th century, as a means of information and path of realization of cultural diplomacy, had role in the general circulation of men and ideas, the cultural transfers and the identities they fostered.

32. Field research, France, Serbian Diaspora, 2018, within the framework of the bilateral cooperation PHC project *French-Serbian Relations in Diplomacy and Media Representation: Historical Experience and Contemporary Challenges*, Sorbonne Paris IV and the Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade, 2018/2019.

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to explore, detect, describe and explain the path of Serbian press in France during the 20th century. The main hypothesis is that the press in the Serbian language was the *paving stone* from the cultural diplomacy

to the information on the Serbian diaspora. The paper would explain how Serbian journals in French language and Serbian journals in Serbian language which were lunched in France became the paths of presentation of the Serbian people through mechanisms that would be recognized as elements of cultural diplomacy. Key issue is the role which Serbian journals played in the general circulation of men and ideas, the cultural transfers that they facilitated, as well as the hybrid identities they fostered. On the basis of contents of the journals and the reading public, as well as the intellectuals engaged in creation of the journals it would be shed light on the Serbian press in France during the 20th century.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, France, Serbian diaspora, Serbian press, 20th century.

Résumé : l'objectif de cet article est d'explorer, de détecter, de décrire et d'expliquer le chemin de la presse serbe en France au cours du XX^e siècle. L'hypothèse principale est que la presse en langue serbe a été le pavé de la diplomatie culturelle vers l'information sur la diaspora serbe. L'article explique comment les revues serbes en langue française et les revues serbes en langue serbe, lancées en France, sont devenues les voies pour présenter le peuple serbe à travers des mécanismes qui seraient reconnus comme éléments de la diplomatie culturelle. La question clé est le rôle que les journaux serbes ont joué dans la circulation générale des hommes et des idées, les transferts culturels, qu'elles ont facilités, ainsi que les identités hybrides qu'elles ont favorisées. À partir du contenu des journaux et leur public, ainsi que les intellectuels engagés dans leur création, on fera la lumière sur la presse serbe en France au cours du XX^e siècle.

Mots-clés : diaspora serbe, diplomatie culturelle, France, presse serbe, XX^e siècle.

Сажетак: Циљ овог рада јесте да истражи, открије, опише и објасни пут српске штампе у Француској током 20. вијека. Главна хипотеза је да је штампа на српском језику стаза од културне дипломатије до информација о српској дијаспори. Рад би објаснио како су српски часописи на француском језику и српски часописи на српском језику, публиковани у Француској, постали начин презентације српског народа током 20. века кроз механизме који се могу препознати као елементи културне дипломатије. Кључно питање јесте улога коју је српска штампа играла у општој циркулацији људи и идеја, културних трансфера, које су обликовали и хибридни идентитети које су они подстакли. На основу садржаја часописа и читалачке публике, као и интелектуалаца који су били укључени у стварање часописа расветлиће се постојање српске штампе у Француској током 20. века.

Кључне речи: српска штампа, Француска, културна дипломатија, српска дијаспора, 20. век.

Anahitar Kelimeler: Sırp diasporası, kültürel diplomasi, Fransa, Sırp basını, 20. yüzyıl.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Σερβική διασπορά, πολιτιστική διπλωματία, Γαλλία, Σερβικός Τύπος, 20ος αιώνας.

Клучни зборови: српска дијаспора, културна дипломатија, Франција, српски печат, 20 век.